1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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FESTIVAL DRESS (MISKITO).—M. W. (308) gives us a description of the gala dress of the Miskito which was worn on festal occasions. Besides the loin cloth the men wore cotton bands with bright feathers attached around their wrists and above and below the knees. The body, or the face only, was painted with pinewood charcoal, over which a "varnish" of turpentine was applied. On the breast was a thin plate made of a Spanish dollar piece beaten out flat, the successor of the gold plate met on this coast and in Costa Rica and Panama at the time of Columbus. Between the shoulders was suspended a tube made from a shin bone, with a bunch of feathers, while sea shells depended from the ears. A rod of bone or cane was worn at the pierced septum of the nose; a turtle hook, inserted in a perforation of the lower lip, supported a pendent plate of brass or shell.

Nowadays the Miskito wear on feast days old coats which they have obtained from the foreign residents. The bright-colored necktie, worn sometimes without any collar, is then allowed to fall over the coat. The socks, which are not worn on ordinary occasions, are pulled over the trousers like overboots. Bright-colored handkerchiefs (*añksar*) are also in great favor.

FESTIVAL DRESS (SUMU).—At their festivals the Sumu of to-day paint the entire body red and black, so that it is impossible for them to recognize each other. At such an occasion their only clothing consists of a loin cloth and a headdress (*sira*). The latter is made from the split stem of a kind of bamboo, known locally by the Miskito name *bratara*, from which the bark has been taken off. The different slices are painted and then tied together with black cotton thread, and the cap thus formed is ornamented with the feathers from gaily colored birds, as parrots, macaws, and toucans, or the curly head feathers of the curassow. From this headgear depends a piece of "white tunu" or tree-bark cloth; this part of the cap is called *pakna*. It is painted with various designs, and hangs down the back to the hips. On the neck, wrist, and knee they wear, besides, strings of beads worked into designs; round the upper part of the arm they tie a cotton string to which small feathers have been attached.

HEADGEAR.—Many Indians buy hats which are known by the Spanish name "sombrero" (*sumruru, sumuru*) or the English "straw hat" (*trahat, tarahat*). They are little used in their daily occupations and constitute above all an article of ornament. To the women the hat is, however, unknown, nor is there any other sort of headgear used by them.

FOOTGEAR.—Sandals are not known in the region under consideration, but they are used by the Paya. Moccasins are made occasionally by the Miskito, and shoes are bought in the local shops, but there are no native names for these articles. The women do not use any footgear at all except in the more advanced communities.

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PRUDERY.—The sentiment of prudery is natural with these people. Few of them will submit to medical examination and on that account there are few Indians working at the gold mines of Pispis, where every applicant for work is obliged to pass such an examination.

DRESSMAKING.—All the various garments were made formerly from tree bark or cotton. Raveneau de Lussan (439) states, however, that the Miskito made also clothing and blankets from a grayish stuff which they obtained from the bastard palm (cabbage palm?). The clothes (M.: *kwala;* S.: *asna*) from imported cotton goods are generally made by the men. Hand sewing machines may be met with in many huts. Needles (M.: *silak;* T., P.: *silip;* U.: *akusa*, from the Spanish "aguja") are bought in the local shops. The washing of the clothes is, however, the work of the women, who beat them at the river banks with wooden clubs (*tamtam*); the leaves and the fruits of a small tree (*Sapindus saponaria* L.; M. &. S.: *sniwawa*) are used as soap.

BODILY ORNAMENTATION AND DECORATION

BODY PAINTING.—Black and red paint is still applied as an ornament, but more frequently the object is to protect the skin from the sting of certain insects, from the rays of the tropical sun, and even the cold. Perhaps originally this was also done in order to scare the enemy at a battle, for the body was painted in a very hideous manner when an armed expedition was being organized. The paint replaces to some extent the Indian's clothing. The black color is made use of by the men and the red by the women, just as was already the custom among the Miskito during the latter half of the seventeenth century (Exquemelin, Engl. ed.: 252).

The reddish pigment, which may vary from yellow to brown, is obtained from the seeds of a shrub or small tree, called annatto (arnotto) and faroah in the British colonies of tropical America, and "achote" or "achiote" by the Spaniards; the Dutch in Surinam call it "orlean," while the French have given it the name "rocou," from *ruku* or *uruku*, used by certain Indian tribes of Brazil and the Guianas. Its botanical name is *Bixa orellana* L.; the word *Bixa* is derived from the ancient language of Haiti.

The seeds are gathered as soon as the capsules split open, and put in boiling water to remove the testa, or waxy substance, surrounding them. This red waxy coloring matter is then passed through a sieve and made to coagulate with the aid of the leaves of the *tiswat* tree or the seeds from the "ojo de buey" (*Mucuna* sp.; M.: *kwakwa;* S.: *wabala*). It is kept in small calabashes or bottles, which may be seen depending from the rafters of the Indian hut. Before use the pigment is tempered with native vegetable oils. It is applied by

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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the women with the aid of small wooden sticks (M.: *aulala-dusa;* S.: *awal-panan*) across nose, cheeks, chin, and forehead, in lines, dots, and dashes; sometimes geometrical designs are made. This manner of applying the pigment is by no means hideous; the legs are occasionally painted to match the color of the dress.

The black paint is used by the men. The Sumu obtain it chiefly from the melted gum of certain trees, as rubber (*Castilla* sp.), cortés, or *auka* (*Tecoma* sp.), or "tunu," whereas the Miskito use pinewood soot (M.: *alami;* S.: *dam*). Over the latter the Miskito apply a "varnish" of turpentine (M.: *auas-maka;* S.: *auas-ya*), which habit was practiced already toward the end of the seventeenth century (M. W.: 308). The men generally smear the whole of the exposed body parts and never make use of the pretty designs obtained by the women with annatto dye.[19]

Sometimes clays are also used as pigments. In former days it was the work of the woman to paint and anoint her husband every morning previous to his departure for the chase. Now everyone does his own painting and decorating; small looking-glasses for that purpose are in every household. The latter are known by their English name among the Miskito, whereas the Sumu call them *waya-tal* "to see the likeness."

TATTOO.—The embellishment of the countenance with tattoo (M.: *rami;* S.: *tiñ-pana, rami*) is still common among both tribes. The incisions into the flesh were formerly made with the thorns of certain bromeliaceous plants, flint splinters, agouti claws, or fish teeth; pinewood soot was then rubbed into the wound. Nowadays the flesh is punctured with steel needles and gunpowder is applied in the incisions. The stains are as enduring as a human life. Face, arms, and breast are the body parts which are most frequently tattooed. The designs generally represent geometrical figures and resemble those engraved on calabashes and on river bowlders. At the time of Columbus (1502) a certain tribe living on the coast of Honduras, to the west of Cabo Gracias a Dios, had on arms and bodies "figures wrought with fire," representing jaguars, pumas, and castles. Pim and Seemann also state that tattooing by cautery was practiced by the Sumu of Rio Escondido.

NECKLACES.—Necklaces (M.: *nana-wilkaya;* T., P.: *ditmak-sitnin;* U.: *dakat-sitnaka*) of shell beads, quartz, greenstone, fish, and turtle bones, small vertebrae, snails, animal teeth, and seeds from certain plants were formerly in use. It is unknown, however, how these articles were formerly pierced without the aid of European imple-

[19] According to Bell (b: 158) the male Sumu from the upper Rio Prinsapolca painted their faces black and red in stripes and diamonds.

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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EAR ORNAMENTS.—Formerly the ear lobes of both sexes were pierced for the reception of ear plugs (see under Deformation of body) and pendants were worn at festivals. Nowadays silver crescentic earrings (M.: *kyama-kula*, *kyama-duas*, *kul-duas*, *kapriñ*; S.: *tapana*) and finger rings (M.: *mat-dikka*, *mikta-dikka*; S.: *tinana*) are very common. These articles are either bought from foreign traders or from traveling Ladino goldsmiths.

HAIR.—The men cut their hair short, but occasionally the older Miskito leave a lock of hair just back of the crown. About the middle of the nineteenth century the Sumu men wore their hair long and tied it in a queue (Bell, b: 153; Collinson, b: 149–150), but now they have it cut fairly short in a straight line just above the eyebrows and as far back as the temples. The women of both tribes cut their hair off just above the eyelashes in order to prevent it from hanging over the face, but on the sides and back it is allowed to hang down freely. Upon the death of a relative they cut it off short and lay it in the grave with the deceased, a practice which formerly was also current among the men at the death of their wives.

At the settlement of Cariay, which probably existed in Costa Rica and not on the Mosquito Coast, as many believe, the women wore their hair cut short in 1502. The men, on the other hand, had it long; the fringe was cut moderately short, while the remainder of the hair was allowed to grow long and was bound up with fillets round the head in braids and rolls.

Both sexes devote much attention to their hair and they anoint it frequently in order to render it softer and easier to handle. Their favorite hair oil, known by the Miskito name *batana*, is obtained from the seeds of the oil palm (*Elaeis melanococca*). The Sumu also extract the oil from the seeds of various other trees, as the saba (*Guarea excelsa* or *Carapa guianensis*), the "eboe" (*Oenocarpus elaiferus*), the "yasi" and the small huiscoyol palm (*Bactris horrida* Oerst.); they also buy *batana* from their neighbors. Nowadays these hair oils are mixed with foreign hair tonics, perfumes, and vaselines, but in former days the Indians added the aromatic rootstock or fruits of certain indigenous plants. Flowers and ribbons are also tied or stuck in the hair by the females.

A crude native comb was formerly made by tying together a number of small sticks which tapered to a point at each end. Now only foreign-made combs are seen. Among the Miskito the latter are known by the English word *kum*, whereas the Sumu have native names (T.: *bas-kus*; P., U.: *bas-kakna*). Exquemelin (Fr. ed.: II, 268–269) states that the Miskito wife used to comb her husband's hair every morning before the latter went out hunting and fishing.

DEPILATION.—Although the Indians take much pride in an abundant growth of hair on the head, they would formerly not allow any

1: Conzemius M-4, 5 (1921) 1932
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other hair on the face, except that of the eyebrows and eyelids. The growth of beard was not liked and the hair was pulled out with the aid of two small thin sticks, between which they pinched it and plucked it out. A small stick of wood which had been partially split was also used for that purpose. Certain wood ashes were rubbed into the skin to check the growth. Now light beards and mustaches are sometimes met with.

DEFORMATION OF BODY

HEAD.—Head deformation (M.: *lal tanta daukaya;* T., P.: *tun labanin;* U.: *tun labanaka*) was until quite recently practiced by all the Sumu tribes except the Bawihka. The little child was placed in a sort of cradle (M.: *kuhcañ;* T.: *pala;* P., U.: *lim*), which was suspended by means of bast-fiber ropes attached to the roof, so that it could be swung like a hammock. A folding flap of wood or of the "bratara" reed at the top of the cradle was tied firmly to the crown of the head, a thick layer of cotton being applied to prevent injury. The infant was kept in sitting position and secured in the cradle in such a manner that it could not move the head at all. From time to time the bandages and the folding flap were removed in order to allow the child a little freedom. The mother suckled her baby without unswathing it from the board. The object was to flatten the top of the head, as the ordinary-shaped head was considered ugly. Some Indians told me that they did not like to have such a round head as a monkey. Grossmann (b: 4) states, however, that the head was flattened in order to adapt it to the broad, flat cap which is worn at festivals. As the Sumu wear the hair hanging square cut to the eyebrows in front, the peculiar flatness of the skull may escape the casual observer.

At the present time this practice has been abandoned altogether and the cradles have been replaced by hammocks. The first mention of head deformation among the Sumu appears to have been made by M. W. (304, 305, 307). A short description thereof as practiced by the Ulwa of Rio Escondido is given by Collinson (b: 149–150). The Miskito claim to have never practiced head deformation and they call the Sumu derisively *Lal-tanta* "Flat-head," which word corresponds to the Spanish "Chatos" found in the old documents. One of the early writers claims, however, to have observed the custom among the Miskito of Sandy Bay in 1709;[20] it is very likely that the Indians in question were Sumu slaves.

[20] Estos monstruos de las cabezas chatas tienen la costumbre de entablillarles a las criaturas cuando nacen, y en creciendo les falta la facción de la frente, sin distancia alguna del pelo de la cabeza a los de las cejas, que les hace imponderablemente horribles (Alcedo y Herrera: p. xviii).

2: Kirchhoff E-4 (no date) 1948
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342 time rectangular houses with a hip roof used by single families are built. The steep roof, thatched with palm leaves, was supported on posts. All houses have walls about 4 feet (1.3 m.) high. Lofts for storing food and for sleeping are made by laying split bamboo sticks across the beams.

352 Household furniture consists of mattresses of bark or deerskin, platform beds (*Paya* and *Northern Sumo*), sitting hammocks, wooden chests, three- or four-legged stools, and a notched-post ladder. Fires are built [354] of three logs on slightly raised mud platforms inside the houses. Stored 415 near these are cooking pots, bamboo tongs used to remove food from the fire, gourd containers and colanders, wooden spoons, ladles, and sections of bamboo used to haul water and to store beverages.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Bark cloth was formerly the most common fabric, but it is now being replaced by cotton cloth, usually obtained by trade. Native cotton cloth was used largely for ceremonial and festive occasions. The *Mosquito* made blankets and clothing of palm fiber.

The male costume consists of a breechclout and poncho. The latter is tied under the arms and secured around the waist with a belt. Everyone went barefoot, but occasionally *Paya* men wore tapir-hide sandals and *Mosquito* men moccasinlike footgear. Women wore a knee-length, wrap-around, bark-cloth skirt, but the upper part of their bodies was nude. Children went nude until they were 8 or 10 years old, when they adopted a breechclout (*Sumo, Mosquito, Paya*). *Sumo* chiefs used a long tunic and a sash, apparently made of cotton. It was dyed and embroidered with crane feathers. These costumes, or modifications of them, are still [177] worn by the more conservative tribes, but commercial cloth is becoming more common and European styles are being adopted.

302 Men cut their hair short, but occasionally elder men left a lock at the back of the crown (*Mosquito*). In about 1850 the *Sumo* tied their hair into a queue, which was oiled or greased; at present they cut it short with bangs over the forehead. A crude comb was made of sticks tied together. Women cut the front hair in bangs allowing the rest to hang freely. The men attached feathers to their hair but women decorated [301] theirs with flowers and colored bands. At time of mourning the hair is cut off short. Both sexes devote considerable attention to their hair.

301 Nose pins and lip and ear ornaments of gold or turtle shell were worn. The *Mosquito* hung shell or brass plates from the lower lip. Conical or bell-shaped lip or chin ornaments were worn by the *Kukra*. Wooden plugs worn in the ear lobes were common. On festive occasions the *Mosquito* and *Sumo* wore either a cotton headband decorated with feathers or a cap made of bamboo decorated with feathers and with long, painted, bark-cloth streamers. The *Mosquito* hung metal or shell plaques and ornaments made of bone and feathers about their necks. *Sumo* women

2: Kirchhoff E-4 (no date) 1948
SA15 Mosquito SA15

wore tight cotton bands below the knees and above the ankles. Today 301
woven bands of glass beads are worn around the neck, wrists, and ankles. Straw hats are decorated with feathers and jaguar teeth (*Mosquito, Paya*).

Black paint is smeared over the body by the men (*Sumo, Mosquito,* 302
Paya) as a decoration and for protection from insects. Geometrical designs are drawn in red paint, mainly by the women. The *Sumo, Mosquito,* 303
and *Paya* tattooed geometrical designs upon the face, arms, and breast. 304
The *Sumo* men made ornamental scars on their faces and chipped their teeth. All *Sumo* tribes except the *Bawihka* practiced head deformation. During infancy a folding flap of wood at the top of the cradle was tied firmly to the crown of the head.

TRANSPORTATION

Loads are carried with a band passing over the head (women) or 482
across the chest (men). Children are carried on the back in a blanket, 855
the points of which are tied in front. 967

The country has hunting trails but no roads. Most travel is done 501
in dugout canoes propelled with poles and broad-bladed paddles. Rafts are used for down-river traffic. Large keeled canoes, often equipped with a sail, are used at sea.

MANUFACTURES

Basketry.—Crude baskets, mainly of wickerwork, are made chiefly for 285
storage bins. Bark and silk grass fiber bags are very common. Bark fiber is used also to make tumplines, hammocks, and such.

Bark cloth.—Bark cloth is beaten out of ficus-tree bark with a grooved 287
wooden mallet.

Weaving.—Cotton is spun on a spindle, which has a whorl and is 286
rotated in a gourd. Coarse-textured but soft cotton cloth is woven on a two-beam loom. Thread was formerly dyed and designs were woven in the cloth. Sometimes feathers, particularly a fringe of white Muscovy duck down, were incorporated into the fabric.

Ceramics.—Pottery making has been described only from the *Sumo* 323
and *Paya*, although pottery was formerly made by all tribes. Women model small vessels out of a lump of clay but build up large ones with coils. They polish them with a pebble, dry them for several days, and fire them in the open. Pottery types include jars about 4 feet (1.3 m.) high, various types of jugs, water jars, small bowls, griddles, and tobacco pipes. All vessels have a convex base.

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Metates are still used by the *Paya* 415
and *Sumo*, and they have recently been adopted by the *Jicaque*, but the *Mosquito* are said no longer to use them. Metates are flat-topped boulders, which only rarely have a trimmed surface. Manos are round pebbles.

3: Pijoan D-5 (ca. 1945) 1946
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from the waist to the knees. Bark cloth is still used and is an excellent clothing material; tumu bark being the most commonly used. However, today both men and women obtain cheap cotton material from traders and with it fashion their clothes. No undergarments are worn. In former times gala costumes were worn at festivals; today the chiefs or head men will wear old coats obtained from foreign residents. Many Indian men buy hats, especially straw ones *(sombrero, sumruru, sumuru, trahat, tarahat)*. Women occasionally wear these hats, which constitute to them an ornament. Some Indians in villages wear footgear but this is rare. Most of them go barefoot. The washing of clothes is the women's work and it is done by beating the garments at river banks with wooden clubs *(tamtam)* and the use of soap made from the leaves and fruits of a small bushy tree *(Sapindus saponaria* L.).

In a previous report by Conzemius[1] it was stated that the black and red paint was applied to the skin as an ornament. This was in 1931; today this process is rarely executed although some still apply a reddish pigment (varying from yellow to brown) in order to protect against insects or the chapping effects of weather. The pigment is derived from the seeds of a shrub called annato (Spanish: *achote, achiote, or bija)* or recour *(Bixa orellana L.)* The seeds are removed from the capsule and placed in boiling water. The red waxy material which separates is collected and coagulates when mixed with the leaves of the *tiswat* tree. It is usually mixed with one of the native vegetable oils prior to use. Black paint derived from tree gums are used by the Sumu as well as colored clays. In fact, colored clays have gained considerable favor during these later years.

Tattoo is rarely seen among the Río Coco inhabitants, even though it was commonly used. It is achieved by the simple method of puncturing the skin with steel needles and the application of gun powder into the incisions. Today necklaces and other decorations are rarely seen. Bead and shell necklaces were observed only on a few persons in the upper Coco River. In general one sees a few trinkets used which were obtained from traders.

The men cut their hair short and some of the tribal elders leave a lock of it just back of the crown of the head. The women have long hair except in front where it is common custom to cut just above the eyebrows. This prevents the hair from entering the eyes. Both sexes devote much care to the hair and oil it frequently. The oil *(batana)* is obtained from the seeds of the oil palm *(Elaeis melanococca)* and is mixed with rather potent perfumes obtained from traders. From these traders they also obtain inexpensive combs and brushes.

Although body deformation was carried out by Sumu especially